1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SURPRISE VALLEY PAIUTE

BY
ISABEL T. KELLY

The following report is based upon field work among the Northern Paiute or Paviotso of northeastern California during the summer of 1930. The investigation was financed jointly by the University of California and the Bureau of American Ethnology. 122

The names Paviotso, Paiute,[1] and Northern Paiute are used interchangeably in this report, and unless otherwise indicated, all statements apply specifically to one band of such Paiute known as the Gidū'tikad[a], or Groundhog-eaters. Some forty members of that band are now living at Fort Bidwell, Surprise valley, Modoc county, headquarters for the season's field work. As the result of a five-day visit[2] to the Klamath Indian reservation, some scanty material was obtained from members of a related band, formerly of Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon, but now living on that reservation near Beatty. 101 [161] 122 101

It seems likely that the account of material culture here contained is as complete as can be made at the present time, for there is little of the old life left. A few roots are dug in spring, and berries are gathered in the fall, but seed gathering and the old hunting methods have fallen into disuse. A few baskets, mediocre at best, are to be seen; some rather nice skin dressing is done; most infants are carried in cradles; but aside from this, statements by informants are the sole reliance. Little was obtained on political institutions, probably owing to paucity of development rather than to fragmentary information. Such is not the case with religion, which is still more or less flourishing. At least shamanistic cures are in vogue, and a number of the older people frequent the sweat-lodge upon occasion, there to pray to the sun. The meagerness of the data must be attributed to the very 174 105 105 124

[1] Not to be confused with the Southern Paiute who are also known in the literature as Paiute.

[2] At private expense, borne by myself and by Miss Elsie Kober, of Fort Bidwell.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
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105 marked reluctance with which informants discuss religious topics.
124 There is yet much to be obtained concerning beliefs and practices, but it will be a difficult matter to overcome the native reserve.

114 Comparatively little has been published on the Northern Paiute. Curtis has some material on the Nevada Paviotso as has Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. A twenty-page paper by de Angulo and Freeland, partly linguistic, concerns the Fort Bidwell Paiute but is avowedly incomplete. For comparative material I have drawn on Lowie's Northern Shoshone and Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. It is scarcely necessary to mention the very obvious debt to Spier's Havasupai Ethnography; and I am further indebted to Dr. Spier for the use of his Klamath material, still in manuscript form.[3] Dr. Kroeber has very kindly allowed access to the unpublished Walapai data which embody the results of the 1929 summer field course of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

122 Acknowledgment should be made to the residents of Fort Bidwell, who were uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but especially to Mr. Henry Kober and to Mrs. Chester Lowell, who with great kindness allowed specimens from their private collections to be brought to Berkeley for photographing; to Mr. L. Shotwell, of the local Indian school, for material assistance in procuring informants; and to Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Schmitz, of Beatty, Oregon, for extraordinary kindness in providing housing and in obtaining informants. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Setchell, of the University of California, for the examination of native tobacco specimens; to Mr. Morris Halperin, University Farm, Davis, for classification of several grasses; and to Mr. John Thomas Howell, of the California Academy of Sciences, for all other plant identifications and for incidental botanical information. Thanks are also due Professor E. O. Essig, of the University of California, for identification of insects and for use of manuscript material; and Mr. R. H. Rogers, County Surveyor, of Lakeview, for data concerning the geography of southern Oregon.

115 A list of informants is given below. Initials following the names indicate the key by which statements will be identified with certain informants. This has been done when evidence is conflicting, or of particular importance, or derived from a single individual. Statements in which the interpreter plays more than his part are jointly attributed. The ages given below are no more than crude approximations.

[3] Since published in volume 30, this series.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to what might be expected in such a desert region, fish and waterfowl were an extremely important dietary item for nearly all groups. Nevertheless, because of the inhospitable environment the available food was so often inadequate that the Indians learned to eat nearly everything which could support life. Seasonal migrations in search of food took Indians of nearly every band into the areas recognized as belonging to their neighbors.

In the two and a half months available for this study* it was impossible to visit all the bands still represented by living Indians. Of the approximately twenty-one Northern Paiute bands, exclusive of those in Owens Valley, element lists were obtained from eleven.

Since it was impossible to follow the conventional methods of gathering ethnographic data, that is, by indirect questions which force informants to take the initiative in all descriptions, some mention of the methods employed should be made here. At the start of the inquiry of each complex, such as deer hunting or house building, a general question would be posed and the informant was allowed to offer what information he would. As a rule, however, it was necessary to ask about particular details, or to inquire whether something were done this way or that. With the first informant Northern Paiute names for various items and concepts were recorded; subsequently, with the remaining Indians, the native name was used in questioning. To supplement the name, descriptions and pantomimes were freely indulged in, but the greatest assistance was obtained from several hundred photographs of material culture and a number of actual specimens of beads, basket weaves, traps, games, and the like. Informants usually identified known types of material illustrated; consequently, blind informants were certainly at a disadvantage. The Indians seemed to appreciate seeing pictures of Indian artifacts and manifested particular delight upon seeing representations of their own types. Thus the pictures had the double value of establishing friendly relations between the investigator and the Indians and provided a means of exact identification of material culture.

For the obvious reason that no one individual knows all about everything in any culture, I checked, whenever possible, many parts of the list with two or more informants from the same band. Often it was necessary to use more than

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*June 5-August 15, 1936.

[P. 361 (B)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
[128] supplied the data or when several agreed, no indication is made in the list. An asterisk beside the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate information was received. The entry in the column is what I considered the most correct answer when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[1] Tasigat-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick ("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86, born at Doyle, California. His father was from Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake, California, Wada territory. ND spent a considerable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in 1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his age, ND was extremely active physically and mentally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing. Although he understood English fairly well and could speak it sufficiently to explain almost everything, his faulty hearing made work without an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to know about all phases of Paiute culture. His knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by identifying and naming them from pictures, was astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of band areas and former band captains, for he gave information about all bands from Owens Lake to Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all he knew, which was probably due in part to his previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

[1]The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

[p.362(A)]

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 131 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 131 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

[124]

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," cen-
131 tering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hearing [124] was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Tongio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 365 (A)]

Birds Eaten or Used

262 825 [134] 299. To: The bird list was obtained by showing bird pictures to ND, Tasiget informant, and recording the Paiute names for birds he recognized. Both English and Paiute names were used in questioning subsequent informants. "Red Book," "Blue Book," and "Green Book of Birds of America," by Frank G. Ashbrook (1931, Whitman Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin), were used for these identifications.

308. Identification: Corvus corax sinuatis.

309. Identification: Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos.

313. Identification: Buteo borealis borealis.

331. tavavonikudik ("one who looks at the sun").

Insect Food

222 337. To: Caterpillars were obtained from Mono Lake Indians. Owens Valley: Piüga (Coloradia pandora Blake) were caught in trenches, baked in earth ovens or openwork baskets (Steward, 256). Although my informants described use of trenches by the Owens Valley Indians, they denied using them themselves.

262 825 114 222 338. Steward, 256, credits Aldrich with saying "koo´-tsabe [Ephydra hians Say.] .... occurred in Walker lake, ... Pyramid lake, and Soda lake, near Carson, Nevada, where they served as food," as well as at Mono Lake. Kuyui and Toe informants denied using these pupae, but the Pakwi informant said his people got them from Pyramid and Soda lakes. Leonard's statement (p. 118; also cited by Steward) that flies were collected from "the lakes" has been mistakenly attributed to Humboldt Lake. The Küpa denied use of kutsavi. Leonard's account cannot be relied upon because of its inconsistencies and indefinite localization. His editors assumed it took from Sept. 4 to Oct. 10 to go from Humboldt to Carson lakes. Since Leonard mentions going directly from "these Lakes" to the Sierras, and since the Indian trail followed led through Walker Pass, I am convinced that Leonard described the taking of "flies" and use of pottery of the Mono and Owens Valley Indians. Leonard's ethnology must be accepted only after careful study and allowance for the fact that he wrote for popular interest largely from memory because "part of his narrative was stolen from him by hostile Indians" (Preface, 24). Walker's journal, to which he was supposed to have had access, has never been published nor is it known to have existed. Kl: DG knew that kutsavi once occurred in a little slough on the south edge of Pyramid Lake, but they were never obtained there for food, so far as he knew. He knew the Mono Indians ate kutsavi. "Kuzavi (larvae) .... were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada" (Curtis, 15:75). To: Some old-timers went from Stillwater to Mono Lake to get

[P. 426 (X)]

N 265 [418] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [225] 1039a. K2: JM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are

W [255] buried before use.

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kn: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker,

N [174] denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice.

N [177 172] Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kn: - (AL).

1053. Kn: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [174] 1057a. Ki: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [172] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [235] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

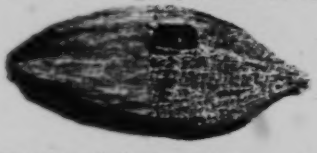
N [172]

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idïwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it



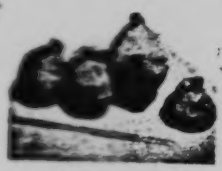
had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Susanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.



Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434(A)]

[p. 5]
[p. 4 is blank]

MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Still- [182] water marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs [182] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would [52] make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another [223] set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst [825] of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

puhágam or tunápuhágam (tuná, antelope; puhágam, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124] memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423] shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

13:1 oud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

285 At the base of the basket, for about a dozen courses, as well as a few decorative courses elsewhere, there is twined weaving. A patch, 10 by 15 cm. in size, sewed on the basket with a coarse cord, is also of twined [531] weave. The basket has a decorative design in dark brown, consisting of narrow bands six inches apart.

[314] Water-tight baskets for soup and other fluids are called tsida. [193] Bottle-shaped baskets made of willow and coated with pitch from the nut pine are used for water, and are called seosa, a compound of the words sebi, willow, and osa, bottle-shape.

MYTHS

124 Besides myths regarding geographical features, a few references to supernatural beings and extinct peoples were obtained in the process of showing specimens and making inquiry regarding the material culture of the Northern Paiute. For example, when Natches described 825 the clothing of the Indians, he stated that they never wore robes of [291] bear skin. Then he went on to say that bear meat was never eaten, [262] because bears are just the same as a person. They understand our language and know when they are being talked about even at a distance. They are respectfully called "aunt."

The Weasel Trail

133 About the center of the Stillwater range is a mountain 7800 feet 773 high, or 3800 feet above the level of the Carson Sink plain. The mountain lies just back of the Copperreid mine due east from Carson sink (no. 1, pl. 68). 2/4 There is a white streak, many miles in length and so high up the sides of the mountain that it is said to be visible over the gap in the Humboldt range as far away as Lovelock, 25 miles distant. Quite likely the explanation of it is that it is either a fault line or an exposed stratum of some white rock such as limestone or gypsum. Back of this mountain lies Hare canyon at the head of which is a spring called su-pa-A, "vulva-water." The sides of the canyon look very much like the parted legs of a person in a recumbent position.

773 The Northern Paiute explanation is that Skunk and his younger brother Weasel were at play. Skunk ran after Weasel who went into his small hole in the ground. Skunk dug in after him and so opened up a ditch many miles in length over the mountain side. The Indian name for the ditch is babigipō or pabitaipo. The whites, hearing the story from the Indians, call it the Weasel trail.

2/1 [See category 116, End plate 68 -- Analyst]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ca. 116, p. 123-AW]

Wadatkuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun[a]. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in [232] a powdered form to the wounds.

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because [182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because ●[124] of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to [683] death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.